

Message Text

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TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 285547

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS FOR BRZEZINSKI

FOL TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO DAR ES SALAAM LONDON
LUSAKA DTD 30 NOV 1977 QTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L MAPUTO 1440

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, US

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: NEXT STEPS

REF: (A) STATE 283188; (B) LUSAKA 3596 (C) DAR 4757

1. I FULLY AGREE WITH REFTELS THAT WE SHOULD CONTINUE
TO PRESS FORWARD WITH OUR ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL. HOW-
EVER, I DO NOT BELIEVE WE SHOULD PRESENT OUR PROPOSAL IN
A DEVELOPED FORM TO THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS ON A TAKE-
IT-OR-LEAVEIT BASIS, AS PROPOSED IN LUSAKA'S 3596, WITH-
OUT FIRST SOUNDING OUT MACHEL.

2. MY MAIN WORRY, WHICH I HAVE EXPRESSED BEFORE, IS
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WITH WHAT I UNDERSTAND TO BE THE ELEMENTS OF OUR PROPOSAL
FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY.
MACHEL IS ALMOST CERTAIN TO HAVE SERIOUS RESERVATIONS
ABOUT THESE ARRANGEMENTS AND MAY BE SO IRRITATED WHEN HE
LEARNS OF THEM, PARTICULARLY IF PRESENTED ON A TAKE-
IT-OR-LEAVE-IT BASIS, THAT HE WILL TURN SOUR ON OUR ENTIRE
INITIATIVE.

3. THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FUTURE SECURITY FORCES HAVE ALWAYS BEEN OF OVERRIDING IMPORTANCE TO MACHEL. HE HAS ALWAYS INSISTED THAT THESE FORCES BE IN THE CONTROL OF THE NATIONALISTS. THIS, AS HE SEES, IT, IS THE ONLY ASSURANCE THAT POWER WILL IN FACT PASS FROM THE SMITH REGIME TO THE NATIONALISTS. THE INCORPORATION IN OUR PROPOSAL OF THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE FUTURE ZIMBABWEAN ARMY WAS TO BE BASED ON THE NATIONALIST FORCES WAS ONE OF THE MAIN REASONS, IN MY OPINION, WHY HE FOUND OUR PROPOSAL ACCEPTABLE AS A BASIS FOR A SETTLEMENT. HE FEELS THAT THE OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE PROPOSAL, WHICH WERE DESIGNED TO PLACATE WHITE FEARS, WERE AMPLE CONCESSIONS IN RETURN FOR THIS ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLE.

4. IN MACHEL'S VIEW, COMPLIANCE WITH OUR PROPOSAL THAT THE ZNA BE BASED ON THE NATIONALIST FORCES MEANS MORE THAN GIVING THE NATIONALIST FORCES A SLIGHT NUMERICAL EDGE IN THE ZNA. TO HIM IT MEANS THAT THE NATIONALISTS SHOULD CLEARLY DOMINATE, IF NOT CONTROL, THESE SECURITY FORCES. OUR PROPOSAL OBVIOUSLY WILL FALL SHORT OF HIS EXPECTATIONS. HE MAY EVEN CONCLUDED THAT WE HAVE RENEGED ON OUR COMMITMENT AND HAVE NOT PLAYED FAIR WITH THE FRONT LINE.

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5. I WOULD ALSO NOTE THAT MACHEL HAS REPEATEDLY STRESSED THAT WHILE HE AND HIS FRONT LINE COLLEAGUES THINK OUR PROPOSAL CONTAINS THE BASIS FOR A SETTLEMENT, THEY WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS SOME OF THE PROVISIONS WITH US. WHEREAS EITHER LORD CARVER OR GRAHAM HAVE MET WITH KAUNDA, NYERERE AND KHAMA, THEY HAVE NOT MET WITH MACHEL, EVEN THOUGH HE HAD PRESENTED US WITH A LIST OF SPECIFIC CONCERNS HE HAS WITH OUR PROPOSAL. NEITHER WE NOR THE BRITISH HAVE RESPONDED TO THESE CONCERNS.

6 I AM NOT SUGGESTING THAT WE HAVE TO SATISFY MACHEL ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ZNA OR ON ANY OF THE OTHER RESERVATIONS HE HAS WITH THE PROPOSAL. WHAT I AM SUGGESTING IS THAT WE RISK IRRITATING HIM NEEDLESSLY IF WE DO NOT OFFER HIM AN OPPORTUNITY TO SIT DOWN WITH US BEFORE WE PRESENT OUR PROPOSAL ON A TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT BASIS. IF MACHEL'S NOSE IS PUT OUT OF JOINT FOR WHATEVER REASON, WE ARE GOING TO HAVE A MUCH HARDER TIME TO PERSUADE THE FRONT LINE TO GO ALONG WITH OUR NEXT STEPS. INCIDENTALLY, I DO NOT ACCEPT FCO'S CONTENTION (LONDON 19422) THAT MACHEL PASSED UP SEVERAL OPPORTUNITIES LAST MONTH TO MEET WITH CARVER. WHEN THE BRITISH INQUIRED WHETHER THEY WOULD BE AVAILABLE

TO MEET WITH CARVER THEY WERE TOLD THAT MACHEL WAS ON VACATION, THAT HE WAS NOT MEETING WITH ANYONE (THE ONLY EXCEPTION HE MADE WAS WITH NYERERE), BUT THAT HE WOULD BE GLAD TO MEET WITH CARVER AT A LATER DATE. THE BRITISH DID NOT PRESS FOR A MEETING THEN, NOR HAVE THEY OFFERED TO RETURN NOW THAT MACHEL IS IN MAPUTO.

7. RECOMMENDATION. RATHER THAN RISK A POSSIBLE STRONG NEGATIVE REACTION FROM MACHEL, I RECOMMEND THAT THE BRITISH (PERHAPS LORD CARVER IN COMPANY WITH JOHNNY GRAHAM) AT LEAST OFFER TO COME TO MAPUTO TO DISCUSS THE PROPOSAL WITH MACHEL PRIOR TO PRESENTING IT TO THE FRONT LINE ON A TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT BASIS. AT A MINIMUM, I RECOMMEND THAT
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SOMEONE SIT DOWN WITH NYERERE TO DISCUSS OUR TACTICS WITH HIM AND FIND OUT FROM HIM WHETHER OUR SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ON ORGANIZATION OF ZNA ARE AT ALL IN THE BALL PARK OF WHAT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE FRONT LINE, INCLUDING MACHEL.
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